

Message Text

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AMEMBASSY BONN
CINCPAC
USMISSION USUN NY

C O N F I D E N T I A L JAKARTA 4895

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, ID
SUBJECT: HOLBROOKE VISIT TO INDONESIA: SUMMARY CONCLUSIONS

1. CONVERSATION HELD WITH TOP INDONESIAN POLICY MAKERS DURING
VISIT ASSISTANT SECRETARY HOLBROOKE TO INDONESIA APRIL 12-16
AFFORDED VIEW OF THEIR CURRENT THINKING RE ASPECTS U.S.
POLICY IN ASIA. DURING COURSE VISIT HOLBROOKE SAW PRESIDENT
SUHARTO, MINDEF PANGGABEAN, CHIEF OF STAFF KOPKAMTIB SUDOMO,
CHIEF ARMY INTELLIGENCE MURDANI, GENERAL ALI MURTOPI, MINISTER
OF STATE FOR PLANNING SUMARLIN AND SECRETARY-GENERAL OF
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INFORMATION PLUS OTHER KEY NON-OFFICIAL FIGURES. THESE ARE
MY PRINCIPAL CONCLUSIONS FROM THESE TALKS.

2. SERIOUS DOUBTS DID EXIST ABOUT DIRECTIONS ASIA POLICY
NEW ADMINISTRATION. THROUGH RECENT MESSAGES, STATEMENTS,
AND VISITS THESE HAVE BEGUN TO BE DISPELLED. INDONESIANS
WELCOME, PARTICULARLY, CLOSER EXECUTIVE/CONGRESSIONAL RELATIONS

IN U.S., AS INDICATED BY FACT THAT HOLBROOKE WAS TRAVELLING WITH CODEL.

3. INTEREST AND "PRESENCE" (UNDEFINED) OF U.S. IN SOUTH-EAST ASIA HAVE NOW BECOME MORE IMPORTANT THAN INDIVIDUAL AID PROGRAMS. ALTHOUGH EXPRESSING DISAPPOINTMENT THAT U.S. MILITARY ASSISTANCE NOT GREATER, INDONESIANS, INCLUDING SUHARTO, SEEM RECONCILED TO IMPENDING TERMINATION GRANT MAP AND NEED TO TURN, IN PART AT LEAST, TO OTHER WESTERN SOURCES. EVEN WITHOUT U.S. MILITARY AID, THEY ALREADY WANT TO SEE CONTINUED U.S. INVOLVEMENT IN REGION. THEIR INADEQUATE SECURITY AGAINST INFILTRATION REMAINS MAJOR SOURCE OF WORRY.

4. INDONESIANS UNDERSTAND U.S. SEARCH FOR BETTER RELATIONS WITH VIETNAM AND ARE PREPARED TO BE HELPFUL. THEIR GREATEST WORRY - NOT FULLY ALLAYED - IS THAT POSSIBLE U.S. HELP TO VIETNAM MIGHT NOT ONLY INCREASE VIETNAM'S TROUBLE MAKING POTENTIAL BUT WOULD HELP COMMUNIST REGIME OUTDISTANCE NON-COMMUNIST SEA REGIMES IN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. HOLBROOKE, IN ADDRESSING THIS POINT DIRECTLY WITH EVERY INDONESIAN HE SAW, MAY HAVE HELPED REDUCE THEIR CONCERN. INDONESIAN LEADERS SEE COMMUNIST AND NON-COMMUNIST SYSTEMS COMPETING AS PREFERRED MODELS FOR SEA ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. HOLBROOKE ASSURED THEM SUBSTANTIAL DIRECT U.S. AID TO VIETNAM NO LIKELY.

5. THERE WERE DIFFERING VIEWS EXPRESSED REGARDING CHINESE AND SOVIET THREATS TO INDONESIA, DEPENDING ON WHETHER SPEAKER WAS CONCERNED WITH IMMEDIATE INTERNAL SECURITY OR LONGER CONFIDENTIAL

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RANGE GEOPOLITICAL STRATEGY. POTENTIAL FOR CHINESE SUB-VERSION IS CLEARLY A MOST IMMEDIATE WORRY, BUT INDONESIANS ALSO ACKNOWLEDGE RISK TO FREEDOM AND STABILITY OF ASIA OF STRONG SOVIET POSITION IN SEA. PANGGABEAN AND SUDOMO, FOR EXAMPLE, PUT CHINESE THREAT HIGHER THAN SOVIET, WHILE MURTOPO AND PRESIDENT SUHARTO SEEM TO AGREE THAT SOVIETS WERE IN LONG RUN OF MORE CONCERN.

6. ASEAN WAS FREQUENTLY MENTIONED AND U.S. WILLINGNESS TO TALK WITH ASEAN WAS WELCOMED. FOCUS OF THOSE WHOM HOLBROOKE SAW, HOWEVER, WAS CLEARLY ON SECURITY ASPECTS OF INTRA-AREA RELATIONS; FOREIGN MINISTER MALIK, WHO HAS DIFFERENT PERSPECTIVE, WAS AT NACC MEETING IN NEW DELHI.

7. IMPORTANCE OF JAPAN WAS CLEARLY RECOGNIZED, BUT LINGERING SUSPICION OF JAPAN WAS VERY APPARENT. INDONESIA DEFINITELY DOES NOT WANT U.S. TO TALK TO SEA THROUGH JAPAN, AND HOLBROOKE'S ASSURANCES THAT WE WOULD NOT WERE CLEARLY VERY

WELCOME TO PRESIDENT SUHARTO AND OTHERS.

8. HOLBROOKE GOT LITTLE RESPONSE WHEN HE DESCRIBED U.S. INTENTION TO WITHDRAW GROUND TROOPS FROM KOREA. KOREA IS OBVIOUSLY FAR AWAY IN INDONESIAN EYES.

9. EVERY CONVERSATION INCLUDED FRANK AND OCCASIONALLY SHARP EXCHANGES ON HUMAN RIGHTS. HOLBROOKE EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR ACCESS GIVEN MEMBERS CODEL WOLFF TO EAST TIMOR. INDONESIAN OFFICIALS REPEATED INTENTION TO RELEASE ALL CLASS B DETAINEES BY END 1979 BUT THEY WERE NOT MORE PRECISE RE SCHEDULE OR NATURE OF RELEASE. THEY MADE CLEAR THEIR VIEW THAT HUMAN RIGHTS IN DEVELOPING COUNTRY HAD TO BE SEEN IN FICONTTEXT RESPONSIBILITY OF CITIZENS TOWARD STATE. IN WHAT I VIEW AS AN ENCOURAGING DEVELOPMENT, PRESIDENT SUHARTO, WHILE ACKNOWLEDGING DIFFERENCES, FOR THE FIRST TIME PERSONALLY ENDORSED THE DESIRABILITY OF CONTNUING CONFIDENTIAL

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CONVERSATIONS BETWEEN U.S. AND INDONESIA ON HUMAN RIGHTS. ON EAST TIMOR, INDONESIANS CONSIDERED INCORPORATION ACCOMPLISHED FACT, BUT DECLARE WILLINGNESS CONTINUE AMNESTY OFFER TO FRETELIN AND TO "ASSUME BURDEN" OF DEVELOPING REGION.

10. SHARPEST EXCHANGES WERE ON QUESTION FREEDOM FOR PRESS CORRESPONDENTS IN INDONESIA. INDONESIANS MADE IT CLEAR THEY FEEL UNFAIRLY TREATED BY INTERNATIONAL PRESS AND WOULD CONTINUE IMPOSE RESTRICTIONS WHICH THEY BELIEVE IN INTEREST THEIR SECURITY AND IMAGE, HOLBROOKE STRESSED THEY OULD NOT EXPECT POSITIVE TRATMENT IF THEY CONTINUED TO IMPOSE LIMITATION ON ACCESS AND FREEDOM OF CORRESPONDENTS. HOLBROOKE REPEATEDLY RAISED BANNING OF NEWSWEEK, WITHOUT RECEIVING ANY ASSURANCES THAT BAN WOULD BE LIFTED BUT I BELIEVE THAT HIS DEMARCHE HAS OBVIOUSLY CAUSED GOI TO RECONSIDER SITUATION. NEWSOM

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